

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 NEW DE 04637 01 OF 02 020548Z  
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04  
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01  
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 OMB-01 TRSE-00 AID-05  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2336  
INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
AMEMBASSY DACCA  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
CINCPAC  
AMCONSUL BOMBAY  
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA  
AMCONSUL MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 4637

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PINR, IN  
SUBJ: PAST FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS OF A.B. VAJPAYEE

REF: A. NEW DELHI 4044, B. NEW DELHI 3944,  
C. NEW DELHI 4592

SUMMARY: ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE, THE NEW EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
MINISTER, WAS THE CHIEF SPOKESMAN OF THE JANA SANGH  
ON FOREIGN POLICY. THE UNDERLYING THEME OF ALL HIS  
COMMENTS HAS BEEN A STRONG SENSE OF NATIONALISM, AND  
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PAGE 02 NEW DE 04637 01 OF 02 020548Z

A DESIRE FOR A SELF RELIANT AND INTERNATIONALLY  
RESPECTED INDIA. A COROLLARY OF THIS VIEW HAS BEEN  
A SENSITIVITY TO FOREIGN PRESSURE AND A SUSPICION THAT  
IN ACCEPTING TOO MUCH FOREIGN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC  
ASSISTANCE, INDIA RAN THE RISK OF MORTGAGING ITS  
INDEPENDENCE. VAJPAYEE HAS EXPRESSED SUCH SUSPICION  
ON OCCASION ABOUT BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE USSR,

ALTHOUGH HIS MORE ABIDING DOUBTS WOULD APPEAR TO BE ABOUT SOVIET INTENTIONS. TOWARD PAKISTAN AND CHINA, IN THE PAST VAJPAYEE HAS BEEN REVANCHIST IN HIS PUBLIC UTTERANCES, STRESSING THAT INDIA MUST RECOVER ITS ILLEGALLY OCCUPIED TERRITORY BEFORE THERE CAN BE ENDURING AND PEACEFUL RELATIONSM HIS COMMENT TO THE PRESS THAT HE IS "NO LONGER IN THE OPPOSITION", AND HIS STATEMENT AT A RECEPTION FOR CHIEFS OF MISSION THAT INDIA SOUGHT COOPERATION NOT CONFRONTATION WITH ITS NEAR NEIGHBORS, INDICATE THAT HE DOES NOT INTEND TO APPLY THESE PAST VIEWS TO CURRENT INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY.

1. ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE GAVE HIS FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE AS FOREIGN MINISTER MARCH 30 (REF C). HOWEVER, AS LEADER OF THE JANA SANGH, HE HAS LONG BEEN A COMMENTATOR ON INDIAN FOREIGN RELATIONS AND A LOOK AT HIS RECORD OF THE PAST TEN YEARS MAY PROVE USEFUL.

2. NATIONALISM: CENTRAL TO VAJPAYEE'S WORLD VIEW IS A NATIONALISM, WHICH WAS FIRST NURTURED IN THE RSS AND ITS POLITICAL OFFSPRING, THE JANA SANGH. VAJPAYEE OVER THE YEARS, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN INSISTENT THAT JANA SIAGH NATIONALISM IS NOT COMMUNAL. IT ADVOCATES, HE SAID, "INDIANIZATION", WHICH HE HAS DEFFNED AS MEANING THAT FIRST AND FOREMOST, THE LOYALTY OF ALL CITIZENS SHOULD BE TO INDIA. THUS, HE HAS SAID THAT MUSLIMS SHOULD NOT HAVE OUTSIDE LOYALTIES AND COMMUNISTS ARE SUSPECT BECAUSE OF THEIR "EXTRATERRITORIAL ALLEGIANCE." WHILE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 NEW DE 04637 01 OF 02 020548Z

DENYING THAT HE FAVORED HINDU DOMINATION OF INDIA, VAJPAYEE HAS CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED THE CREATION OF NEW INDIAN STATES BASED ON NON-HINDU GROUPS, SUCH AS A SEPARATE PUNJAB STATE OR THE BREAK-UP OF ASSAM INTO TRIBAL STATES. THE JANA SANGH HAS NEVER ACCEPTED THE "TWO NATION" THEORY THAT LED TO THE PARTITION OF INDIA, AND AS LATE AS 1972 VAJPAYEE TOLD THE PRESS THAT "INDIA, PAKISTAN AND NOW BANGLADESH ARE MEMBERS OF THE SAME INDIAN FAMILY." VAJPAYEE CONCEDED THAT INDIA WOULD HAVE "TO STAY PARTITIONED FOR SOME TIME", BUT IN ORDER TO "UNDO THE SPIRIT OF PARTITION", HE SUGGESTED THAT THE NATIONS OF THE SUBCONTINENT THINK IN TERMS OF COMMON MARKETS, JOINT DEFENSE, INTERNAL TRADE AND COMMON BORDERS.

3. PAKIATAN AND CHINA: VAJPAYEE'S USUAL STANCE TOWARD PAKISTAN, HOWEVER, WAS THE STANDARD JANA SANGH LINE, REPORTED IN REF A, OF ADHERENCE TO INDIA'S CLAIM TO KASHMIR, OF SUSPICION OF PAKISTAN'S MOTIVES, AND OF

PERIODIC WARNINGS OF POSSIBLE PAKISTANI HOSTILITY.  
VAJPAYEE IN THE PAST DECADE HAS COUPLED PAKISTAN AND  
CHINA AS JOINT THREATS TO INDIA, AND HAS LABELLED BOTH  
AS AGGRESSORS IN ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF INDIAN LAND.  
HE HAS OPPOSED NEGOTIATIONS WITH EITHER PAKISTAN OR  
CHINA UNLESS THE RETURN OF SUCH TERRITORY WAS IMPLICIT  
IN ANY DEALS. A COMMON THEME IN HIS SPEECHES HAS BEEN  
THAT INDIA CANNOT DEAL WITH EITHER CHINA OR PAKISTAN  
UNLESS INDIA WAS MILITARILY STRONG. IT IS IN THIS  
CONTEXT THAT HE HAS MOST OFTEN ADVOCATED THE DEVELOP-  
MENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN ORDER TO ENHANCE INDIA'S  
POLITICAL BARGAINING POSITION. MORE THAN ONCE, HE  
WARNED THAT INDIA COULD NOT RELY UPON A "NUCLEAR  
GUARANTEE" FROM OTHER COUNTRIES. IN MATTERS OF  
NATIONAL SECURITY, HE SAID IN 1970, WE HAVE HAD  
BITTER EXPERIENCE IN THE PAST AND "WE DO NOT TRUST"  
EITHER THE UNITED STATES OR THE USSR IN THIS REGARD.  
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PAGE 04 NEW DE 04637 01 OF 02 020548Z

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 NEW DE 04637 02 OF 02 020549Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 4637

4. THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION: IN HIS PREOCCUPATION WITH NATIONAL SECURITY AND SOVEREIGNTY, VAJPAYEE HAS BEEN QUICK TO DONDEMN WHAT HE HAS CONSIDERED UNDO PRESSURES ON INDIA. IN REGARD TO KASHMIR, HE AS OFTEN AS NOT PERCEIVED SUCH PRESSURES AS COMING BOTH FROM THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, AS HE SAID AT THE TIME OF THE RANN OF KUTCH AGREEMENT IN THE 1960'S AND THE SIMLA AGREEMENT IN 1972. AT OTHER TIMES, HE HAS LABELLED BOTH AMERICAN AND SOVIET ARMS SUPPLY TO PAKISTAN AS " UNFRIENDLY ACTS" TOWARD INDIA. ON THE OTHER HAND, VAJPAYEE WHO EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR SELF RELIANCE ALSO HAS HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT FOREIGN ECONOMIC AND CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 04637 02 OF 02 020549Z

MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO INDIA. IN 1970 HE SAID THAT INDIA'S DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN COUNTRIES HAD REACHED "DANGEROUS PROPORTIONS." ON OCCASION VAJPAYEE HAS CHARGED THE CONGRESS GOVERNMENT WITH NOT BEING EVEN-HANDED IN ITS CRITICISM OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. HE SAID IN 1970 THAT A CONGRESS PARTY RESOLUTION WHICH CALLED INTER ALIS FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE US FROM INDO-CHINA CONFIRMED THAT THE GOI "IS MOVING INTO THE RUSSIAN ORBIT" BECAUSE THE RESOLUTION MADE NO REFERENCE TO SOVIET AID TO PAKISTAN NOR TO NORTH VIETNAMESE VIOLATIONS OF CAMBODIAN NEUTRALITY. THE FOLLOWING YEAR, HOWEVER, HE RETURNED TO HIS THEME OF DUAL PRESSURES ON INDIA WHEN HE ACCUSED BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE USSR OF "CAMPAIGNING" FOR MRS. GANDHI IN THE 1971 GENERAL ELECTION BECAUSE BOTH COUNTRIES WANTED A "WEAK AND CORRUPT GOVERNMENT" AT THE CENTRE.

5. OTHER REGIONS: VAJPAYEE'S EMPHASIS UPON NATIONALISM AND SELF-RELIANCE HAS NOT PREVENTED HIM FROM ADVOCATING COOPERATION WITH OTHER NATIONS. IN 1967, HE CALLED FOR A COMMON DEFENSE PACT BETWEEN INDIA, NEPAL AND BUOGA

BECAUSE OF WHAT HE CALLED CHINESE HOSTILITY TO ALL THREE COUNTRIES. IN 1968, HE FAULTED THE GOI FOR PAYING INSUFFICIENT ATTENTION TO SOUTHEAST ASIA AND NOT SEEKING CLOSER ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION WITH THESE COUNTRIES. INDIA SHOULD TAKE A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE AREA, HE SAID, IN THE WAKE OF THE DECLINING INFLUENCE OF WESTERN

NATIONS. IN 1970, HE SUGGESTED THAT INDIA SHOULD FORM AN ALLIANCE WITH JAPAN AND AUSTRALIA TO PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF THE REGION. AS FOR THE MIDDLE EAST, HE SUGGESTED IN 1967 THAT INDIA GIVE UP ITS "PARTISAN ATTITUDE" AND RETURN TO A POSTURE WHICH HAD ENABLED IT IN THE PAST TO "ACT AS AN HONEST BROKER" TO BRING  
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PAGE 03 NEW DE 04637 02 OF 02 020549Z

ABOUT RAPPROCHMENT BETWEEN THE WARRING PARTIES. AFTER A TRIP TO ISRAEL LATER IN THE YEAR, HE SAID THAT THE REAL ISSUE IN WEST ASIA WAS NOT THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI TROOPS FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OR THE RETURN OF ARAB REFUGEES, BUT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DURABLE PEACE. THE ARABS, HE SAID, MUST LEARN TO RECONCILE THEMSELVES TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF ISRAEL AS A NATION BEFORE A NEW ERA OF "ABIDING FRIENDSHIP AND FRUITFUL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS CAN BEGIN IN WEST ASIA."

6. COMMENT: VAJPAYEE, WHO WAS A LEADER-GRANTEE TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1960, HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT MORE MODERATE IN HIS PRIVATE COMMENTS TO EMBASSY OFFICERS OVER THE YEARS, BUT HAS NOT ALTERED THE BASIC THEMES OF HIS PUBLIC SPEECHES AND REMARKS TO THE PRESS. HIS DISAGREEMENT WITH US POLICY HAS MOST OFTEN BEEN IN RELATION TO PAKISTAN AND NUCLEAR MATTERS. IN 1971 HE TOLD AN EMBOFF THAT DESPITE THESE DIFFERENCES HE STILL CONSIDERED THE US A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY WITH A FREE PRESS AND AN ACTIVE OPPOSITION. HE SAID THAT HE CRITICIZED THE US BECAUSE IT WAS "CAPABLE OF CHANGING". VAJPAYEE IS NOT ON RECORD REGARDING KOREA, BUT THE ROK AMBASSADOR TOLD THE CHARGE RECENTLY THAT THE SOUTH KOREANS WERE PLEASED WITH VAJPAYEE'S APPOINTMENT BECAUSE HE HAD VISITED SEOUL AS THEIR GUEST IN 1970.

7. WE REPORT THESE INDICATIONS OF VAJPAYEE'S PAST VIEWS AS AN INDICATION OF POSSIBLE INFLUENCES ON HIM IN HIS NEW POSITION AND NOT AS HIS PRESENT OPINION AS FOREIGN MINISTER. INSAACT, HIS EARLY STATEMENTS AS A MEMBER OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT APPEAR TO BE DESIGNED TO COUNTER ANY SUGGESTION THAT HIS EXTREME VIEWS WILL FIND EXPRESSION IN INDIAN POLICY. FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN ASKED IN AN INFORMAL PRESS CONFERENCE ABOUT HIS PAST VIEWS ON NUCLEAR POLICY, HE REPLIED THAT HE WAS NO LONGER IN THE OPPOSITION. SIMILARLY, HIS STATEMENT AT A RECEPTION FOR CHIEFS OF MISSION ABOUT  
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PAGE 04 NEW DE 04637 02 OF 02 020549Z

INDIA'S INTENTION TO GIVE PRIORITY TO SOLVING PROBLEMS  
WITH ITS NEAR BEIGHBORS, AND ITS DESIRE FOR COOPERATION  
RATHER THAN CONFRONTATION, SUGGEST AN ATTEMPT TO COUNTER  
CONCERNS ABOUT HIS VIEWS ABOUT PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH.  
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## Message Attributes

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